1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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called *kalmelpudithti*,[1] or "leg up he puts." It is usually a salutation in which women bow down before men, but it may also take place between two men or between two women, while on certain occasions a male may bow down and have his forehead touched by the feet of a woman.

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In the evening the buffaloes again find their way to the milking-place, and the operations of the morning are repeated. When these are finished the buffaloes are shut up in the enclosure, or *tu*, for the night; the lamp is now lighted and saluted by the men who use the same gesture as that with which the sun had been saluted in the morning. The people then take their food and retire to rest.

Sketch of Social Organisation

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I shall consider the social organisation in detail at a much later stage, but it is necessary to give here a brief sketch in order to make its main features clear before going on to describe the Toda ceremonial, which often shows differences according to the division or clan with which the ceremony is connected. The fundamental feature of the social organisation is the division of the community into two perfectly distinct groups, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol. As we shall see more fully later, there is a certain amount of resemblance between these two divisions and the castes of the Hindus. There is a certain amount of specialisation of function, certain grades of the priesthood being filled only by members of the Teivaliol. Further, marriage is not allowed between members of the two divisions, though certain irregular unions are permitted; a Tarthar man must marry a Tarthar woman, and a Teivali man a Teivali woman. The Tartharol and Teivaliol are two endogamous divisions of the Toda people.

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Each of these primary divisions is subdivided into a number of secondary divisions. These are exogamous, and I shall speak of them throughout this book as 'clans,' using this word as the best general term for an exogamous division of a tribe or community.

[1] This salutation has been previously known by its Badaga name, *aivlaadikkee*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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Each clan possesses a group of villages and takes its name from the chief of these villages, the *ezudmad*, and the people of a clan are known as *madol*, or village people.

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The Tartharol are divided into twelve clans, which take their names from the villages of Nòdrs, Kars, Pan, Taradr, Keradr, Kanòdrs, Kwòdrdoni, Päm, Nidrsi, Melgars, Kidmad, and Karsh.[1] The people of each clan are known as Nòdrsol, Karsol, Panol, &c. The Kidmadol and Karshol are much less important than the other ten clans, having split off from the Melgarsol in comparatively recent times. The original number of Tarthar clans appears to have been ten, and I have no record that any clan of this division has become extinct.

The Teivaliol are divided into six clans, or *madol*, taking their names from the villages of Kuudr, Piedr, Kusharf, Keadr, Pedrkars, and Kulhem. The people of Kuudr are called both Kuudrol and Kuurtol, and similarly the people of Piedr and Keadr are often called the Piertol and Keartol.

Here again two clans, the Pedrkarsol and the Kulhemol, are less important than the others. They are offshoots of the Kuudrol, but the separation is of very long standing.

There was some doubt as to the existence of another clan, the Kwaradrol, but it seemed certain that these people, who have now died out, formed a subdivision of the Keadrol.

One Teivali clan has become extinct, its last member having died, it was said, about a hundred years ago. This clan took its name from the village of Kemen, which was near Kiudr, but no trace of this village exists at present and I think it probable that the Kemenol have been extinct longer than the Todas suppose.

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The villages of each clan are usually situated in the same part of the hills, though there are very often outlying villages far from the main group. At any one period of the year, only some of the villages of the clan are occupied. The people may move about from one village to another accord-

[1] In these names and throughout the text the signs to indicate long vowels are generally omitted. In order to ascertain the exact method of pronunciation, the map or the list of villages in Appendix III. should be consulted.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER V

THE TI DAIRY

THE *ti* is the name of an institution which comprises a herd of buffaloes with a number of dairies and grazing districts tended by a dairyman-priest or priests called *palol* with an assistant called *kaltmokh*. Each dairy with its accompanying buildings and pasturage is called a *ti mad*, or *ti* village. 234 793

In most cases there are two kinds of buffaloes at each *ti*, and each kind should properly be tended by its own *palol* and *kaltmokh*. There is, however, only one *ti* which possesses two *palol* at the present time, and they share a *kaltmokh* between them, though a second is appointed on certain ceremonial occasions. In other cases one *palol* tends both kinds of buffalo, and in others, again, the dairies are unoccupied for the greater part of the year and the office of *palol* is only filled for certain limited periods.

Each *ti* is regarded as the property of a Tarthar clan, but the *palol* has to be taken from the Teivaliol, the choice being in some cases restricted to one or two Teivali clans; thus, the *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* must belong either to Piedr or Kusharf. The *palol* is chosen by the Tarthar owners, but the latter do not seem to gain any material advantage from their possession. In fact, it involves them in some expense owing to the necessity of giving certain feasts, and this expense was put forward as one reason why a *ti* is often unoccupied. Never- 184 234 616

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

184 234 616 theless the Tartharol are very proud of the fact that the institution of the *ti* belongs to their division, and whenever I asked a Tarthar man why he considered his people superior to the Teivaliol, the answer always ran that they had the *ti* and that the Teivaliol who tended the *ti* were their servants.

234 778 The buffaloes belonging to a *ti* are of two kinds, distinguished as *persinir* and *punir*. The former are the sacred buffaloes, and the elaborate ceremonial of the *ti* dairy is concerned with their milk. The *punir* correspond in some respects to the *putiir* of the ordinary village dairy, and their milk and its products are largely for the personal use and profit of the *palol* and are not treated with any special ceremony. The *persinir* are usually of various kinds, but the nature of their classification is different at each *ti* and its consideration may be postponed till later.

115 124 234 I obtained most of my information from people connected with the Nòdrs *ti*. During the whole of my visit the herds of this *ti* were at Mòdr, which is only about a mile from the Paikara bungalow. Owing to the restrictions on intercourse with so sacred a personage as a *palol*, it was not practicable to obtain all my information from those actually in office, and I found it best to work with men who had formerly held the post and had retired. I worked chiefly with Kaners (63), an old man who had been *palol* at the Nòdrs *ti*, and with Koboners (58), who had been at the Kars *ti*. For some time I worked with one or other of these two men every day, paying occasional visits to Mòdr to observe as much of the ceremonial as I was allowed to see. On these occasions I was also able to consult Karkievan, the chief *palol*, on points about which the ex-officials were doubtful.

Both Kaners and Koboners were trustworthy witnesses, but Kaners was old and had given up his office some time before, and in consequence often committed faults of omission. Koboners was an admirable informant, and the fulness of the account of the *ti* ceremonial is largely due to him. It must be remembered that I was only able to see for myself a few superficial features of the ceremonial, and that my account is based on the descriptions given by these and other men, but

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

There are a few small points in which the ordination of a Teivali dairyman differs from that of the Tartharol. The Teivaliol use three pieces of the grass called *kakar*, with which the candidate sweeps the threshold of the dairy before bowing down and entering, the grass being left on the threshold. Among the Teivaliol also the place of the *petuni* may be taken by the special kind of cloth called *twadrinar*, which is manufactured by the Todas, and in the case in which I saw the ceremony, the candidate wore this instead of *petuni*. The Tartharol must use *petuni*.

In the only case in which I saw this ceremony the ordination was to a Teivali dairy and the candidate was completely naked except for the *kuvn*. The Tarthar *tarpalikartmokh* wears part of an ordinary mantle as a loincloth during his ordination. The ceremony is the same for the *kudrpalikartmokh* as for the *tarpalikartmokh*, except that the former is quite unclothed except for the *kuvn* and that he alone has a *mani* to salute.

THE WURSOL

The ceremony begins either on Tuesday or Friday and lasts two days. On the first day the candidate goes early in the morning to the ordinary dairy of the village at which he is to be *wursol*; at Kars he goes to the *kudrpali*. He receives food from the *palikartmokh* and eats it sitting on the seat (*kwattis*) outside the dairy. He stays near the dairy till the afternoon. When the *palikartmokh* has finished his afternoon work and has distributed butter and buttermilk, one of the men of the village comes to the candidate and says, "*Nirvd!*" The candidate throws off his cloak and is given either a full *tuni* or a piece of this garment called *petuni*. The *palikartmokh* then stands in front of the door of his dairy, and the candidate stands opposite to him and asks three times "*Tuniwathina?*"—"Shall I put on the *tuni?*" The *palikartmokh* replies each time "*Vat!*"—"Put on!" Then the candidate raises the garment to his forehead and if he has been given a complete *tuni* he puts it on; if only a *petuni* he puts it in the string of his *kuvn*. This string is

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

visited Kiudr for the purpose of testing the people of the village for colour-blindness, Sintagars, who was pregnant and was living at Molkush, was not allowed to come to the hut to be tested like the rest, but sat on the mound shown in the foreground of Fig. 7, about thirty yards away.

The features of the hand-burning ceremony as performed by the Tartharol differ considerably from those for a Teivali woman, and I will begin with a description of the former.

On the day of the new moon, the woman goes to the *pushars*. The husband (or in his absence his brother or other near male relative) cuts six sticks of the kind called *kwadrikurs* and sets them up so as to represent a dairy with two rooms, which is called *pülpali*. He then cuts four bamboo-reeds called *wadr*, about eighteen inches long, which represent dairy vessels; two of them are called *patatpun*, and the other two *ertatpun*. He fills these with water taken neither from the *pali nipa* nor from the *ars nipa*, for if he touched the water of either of the streams, they would be defiled and their water could not be used. He therefore fetches the water from a stream at some distance from the village.

The husband brings the reeds half filled with water and places those called *patatpun* in the inner room of the *pülpali*. He takes the other two—the *ertatpun*—to a two-year-old female calf (*pòl*), and pours out the water from one reed on the left side of the middle of the back (*ùv*) of the calf, and catches the water in the other. He then gives two leaves (*kakuders*) to the woman, who makes a leaf vessel, into which he pours three times from the *ertatpun* the water which has flowed from the back of the calf. The woman raises the leaf vessel to her forehead and then drinks, and the man puts the two *ertatpun* into the outer room of the *pülpali*.[1] The woman then bows down with her forehead to the threshold of the *pülpali*, and the man takes up the sticks forming the imitation dairy and the four reeds and throws all away.

[1] It will be noticed that the *patatpun* are placed in the inner room and the *ertatpun* in the outer room. In the ordinary dairy both would be placed in the inner room, though in different places. The procedure of this ceremony seems, therefore, to resemble that of the *ti* rather than of the ordinary dairy. It suggests that we have here a relic of a time when every dairy had at least two rooms, one for the things of the *patatmar* and another for the things of the *ertatmar*.

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A further mysterious feature of these ceremonies is that the two rites which seem to bring women into special relation with the dairy are limited to the Tartharol. If these rites be regarded as relics of a time when women had more to do with dairy operations than at present, the possibility follows that this former function of women was limited to one division of the Todas.

I could obtain no explanation of the meaning of the word *pülpali*, used for the imitation dairy made in the Tarthar ceremonies. *Püli* means tamarind, and in a ceremony of the Nairs of Malabar called *pulikati*, performed in the ninth month of pregnancy, the woman drinks tamarind juice.[1] It is possible that the two ceremonies have a common origin, the only indication of which in the Toda ceremony lingers in the name of 'tamarind dairy.' It is, however, possible that the dairy is so called because it is made on the outskirts of the village, though I do not know definitely that the word *pül* would be used for outskirts in this special sense.

Uncovering the Child's Face

While in the seclusion-hut with its mother and for some time after, the child has its face covered, and no one except the mother is allowed to see it. At the end of the third month[2] the face of the child is uncovered, and this ceremony is called *mokh mûtâr teritlti*, "child outside he opens," or, more shortly, *mûtâr terthpimi*. If the child is a boy, he is taken by his father early in the morning to the front of the dairy, and both father and child bow down at the threshold of the dairy (*pavnersatiti*), the child being put down by his father so that his forehead touches the threshold. The child is then taken to the place where the buffaloes are standing, and there the face is uncovered, the child being held so that he looks towards the sun when the covering is removed.

If the child is a girl, she is taken by her mother to the *majvatvaiidrn*, the place where the women go to receive

[1] Fawcett, *Bull. Madras Museum*, vol. iii. p 242.

[2] According to one account the ceremony takes place on the fortieth day after birth.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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764 built of wood, some of which has been brought by the funeral party, while the rest is found near the burning ground. The wood used on this occasion must be of the kind called *kers*[1] and the pyre is built of an oblong shape, rising about three feet above the ground.

The first of the funeral ceremonies is different for the two sexes. At the funeral of a male the ceremony of *puzhutpimi*, "earth we throw," or *kedrpuzhutpimi*, "funeral earth we throw," is performed, while the corresponding ceremony for a woman is to place certain leaves in the armlet on the right arm of the corpse.

THE PUZHUTPIMI CEREMONY

616 764 602 In the *puzhutpimi* ceremony a man digs up a little earth in front of the entrance to the buffalo pen. The digger must belong to the Tartharol, if the dead man is one of the Teivaliol, and *vice versâ*; thus, at the funeral of Pursevan (53)[2] of Kuudr, the earth was dug by Kedjeri (6) of Nòdrs. In this case the Tartharol were told to send someone to dig, and they selected Kedjeri.

At the funeral of a Tarthar man the earth is first thrown by the *wursol*, who must be, on this occasion, one of the Teivaliol. A Melgars *wursol* may not perform this office. After the *wursol* has thrown earth, it is thrown by certain relatives of the deceased who are present. At a Teivali funeral only the relatives perform this ceremony, no one corresponding to the *wursol* taking part.

Before the people begin to throw earth, one of the dead man's division asks "*Pushutkina?*"—"Shall I throw earth?" and a man of the other division replies, "*Pushut!*"—"Throw earth!" At the funeral of Pursevan a Teivali man asked the Tartharol in this way, and the Tartharol responded. At this funeral earth was thrown by the following: Punatvan (53), a younger brother of the dead man; Kuriolv and Piliar (52), Pöteners (54); Targners, Pungusivan and Tevò, the sons of the

[1] *Eugenia Arnottiana*. This is the tree in which the hole is cut at the *pursütpimi* ceremony.

[2] This was a *marvainolkedr*, but the rules for the earth-throwing are the same at the first funeral.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

dead man, and Pòl, the son of Punatvan. In this case all who threw earth were not only Kuudrol—*i.e.*, of the same clan as the dead man—but were also of the same family, so that their relation to one another can be traced in the genealogies. Kuriolv, Piliar and Pöteners would all have called Pursevan "*aia*," or father, and were first cousins once removed according to our system of kinship. I do not know whether the earth-throwing is usually limited to the nearer relatives in the same clan. The family to which Pursevan belonged was unusually numerous, and it is probable that in most cases other families of the clan are called upon to take a part.

At a funeral seen by Mr. Walhouse[1] the earth was thrown into a circle made of rough stones laid upon the grass with an opening on one side, and Mr. Thurston[2] records a similar case in which the earth was thrown into a circle of stones about a yard and a half in diameter, which had been constructed for the occasion. This is probably done when the funeral is held at a place where there is no *tu*, and it is possible that these funerals were not being held at regular funeral places of the clan, and that the circles of stones were intended to represent buffalo pens. At the funeral seen by Mr. Walhouse the 'priest' handed a bag to the nearest relatives, who tied it to the stick with which they turned up the earth.

Each man, as he throws, kneels down, facing the opening of the pen, and then bows down so that he touches the earth with his forehead, many saying "*Swami*" as they do this. Three handfuls of earth are thrown into the pen, and then three handfuls are thrown backwards on the corpse, the man standing up as soon as he has done this. Each man covers his head with his cloak before he throws, as shown in Figs. 49 and 50.[3]

[1] *Ind. Antiq.*, 1874, vol. iii., p. 274.

[2] *Bull.*, 1901, iv., p. 12.

[3] These photographs were obtained from Messrs. Wiele and Klein, and I do not know the place or nature of the funeral which they illustrate, but there is no indication of a pen in the picture; they probably represent throwing earth at the entrance of a former pen. There is such a place at Taradrkirsi, the male funeral place of the Kars clan. Here earth is thrown by the side of a wood where the forest has grown over the site of an old *tu*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

764 Fig. 50 shows the special action employed in throwing backwards, the hand being turned inward.

616 764 The earth-throwing ceremony is one of several funeral rites, in which men of one division take part in funerals belonging to the other division. Thus, at a Tarthar funeral

FIG. 49.—THE 'PUZHUTPIMI' CEREMONY. IN THE CENTRE IS THE CORPSE. THE FOREMOST MAN ON THE LEFT IS KNEELING DOWN PREPARATORY TO THROWING EARTH.

the earth is dug by one of the Teivaliol; the Tartharol then ask for permission to throw the earth, and the permission (or order) is given by the Teivaliol—*i.e.*, those who have dug the earth have to give the word that the earth may be thrown.

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avoid the racing Todas, one of whom succeeds in catching the appointed animal, seizing it by the horns, and then hangs round its neck with one hand and seizes the cartilage of the nose with the other. Another of the men seizes a horn and also hangs round the neck of the animal, and both men put their whole weight on the neck of the buffalo and bear it to the ground. Often they are carried many yards before they succeed in getting the infuriated animal under control, and when catching the horns they are sometimes severely gored, though this rarely happens now, and I could hear of no case in which there had been fatal consequences.

The men who are appointed to catch the buffalo belong to the Tartharol at a Teivali funeral and to the Teivaliol at a Tarthar funeral. They are usually chosen from among the younger and more agile of the community, but at an important funeral the older and more experienced men may undertake the duty. The catching of the buffalo is critically watched, and some men have acquired great reputations for the adroitness with which they perform the feat.

I have some reason to think that it is the custom to catch the buffaloes at different places at the funerals of males and females (see p. 393), but my information on this point is not satisfactory.

The captured buffalo has next to be led to the spot appointed for its slaughter. The people of both divisions drive the animal, beating it with sticks, while the course taken by the animal is directed by the two men hanging on its horns and round its neck. The buffalo is beaten much more vigorously than ever happens on ordinary occasions, and it has seemed to many who have watched a Toda funeral that this vigorous beating must have some significance, and the idea of vicarious punishment is naturally suggested. I could obtain no information from the people on this point, and I am doubtful whether the beating means more than that, under the exceptional conditions, the animal requires much more vigorous driving than usual. Ordinarily the buffalo follows out its daily routine with little interference; it goes to its usual pasture, and, as I have seen myself, it

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765 they must leave it and live elsewhere till the second funeral is over.

[196] The term *kedr* is not only applied to the relics of the dead person, but also to the period between the two funerals, or rather the people say, "There is *kedr* in his family," or "So and so, or such and such a clan, has *kedr*," so that the same word is used for the funeral, for the body of a dead person, for the relics, and for the condition of persons or clans while funeral ceremonies are uncompleted.

764 783 All those who go near the corpse at a Teivali funeral become *ichchiloivichi*, usually abbreviated to *ichchil*, and the same is true of anyone who goes to a Teivali village where the relics are being kept. The whole family in which the death has occurred is spoken of as being *ichchil*. If anyone wishes to attend a funeral and yet avoid becoming *ichchil*, he must sit at some distance and take no part in the funeral proceedings. At several funerals I have seen people sitting apart from the rest in order that they might not incur the disabilities associated with the condition of *ichchil*, the chief of which is that it is forbidden to approach or salute a *palol*.

A person who has incurred *ichchil* remains so till the next new moon. Those in the family of the dead person remain *ichchil* till the new moon after the *marvainolkedr*, owing to the fact that between the two funerals they probably either live at or visit the village where the relics are kept.

The condition of *ichchil* arising from attendance at a funeral is regarded as of the same nature as that incurred by a visit to the seclusion-hut after childbirth.

764 783 Both Teivaliol and Tartharol may become *ichchil* at a funeral of one of the Teivaliol, but there is no *ichchil* due to attendance at a Tarthar funeral. All those who throw 616 earth at a Tarthar funeral, however, are called *puzhut*, and 618 incur the same disability as those who are *ichchil*—*i.e.*, they may not approach or salute a *palol*.

Melgars people incur the same disabilities as other Tartharol, and it is probably for them that the restrictions are of most importance, for they lose their special privileges as *mòrol* while they are in the condition of *ichchil* or *puzhut*.

765 During the condition called '*kedr*,' all the men of the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

and this was given as the reason why the dead used to be burnt face downwards. It will be remembered also that Ön was looking downwards when he saw his son Püv in Amnòdr (see p. 185).

Amnòdr is presided over by the god Ön, who went there after the death of his son Püv, and it is often called Önnòdr after him, while this world, presided over by the goddess Teikirzi, is known as Inanòdr or Eikirzinòdr.[1] The people of Amnòdr or Önnòdr are known as the Amatol. Formerly the Todas used to go freely to and fro between Amnòdr and Eikirzinòdr, but this was stopped owing to the behaviour of Kwoto, and since his time only the dead go to Amnòdr and they do not return.

The Amatol live in much the same way as the inhabitants of this world. They have their buffaloes and their dairies, and the daily life of the people appears to be much like that of the living Todas. As the people walk about, however, they wear down their legs. They have to walk every day, and when a man has worn down his legs as far as the knees Ön sends him back to this world as another man.

Ön will not allow any pigs or rats to enter Amnòdr, as they would root up and spoil the country.

[616] Dead people travel to Amnòdr by well-defined routes, which are different for Tartharol and Teivaliol, while the Taradrol have a separate Amnòdr for their clan.

The dead do not set out for Amnòdr till after the second funeral, taking with them the things burnt at the *azaramkedr*. Both Tartharol and Teivaliol journey westwards towards the Kundahs and cross the Pakhwar or Avalanche river at the same spot.

The paths for the two divisions then diverge. The Tartharol go by a place called Katchâr, while the Teivaliol go by Kusheigûdr, situated by the bridle path now leading from Avalanche Bungalow to Avalanche Top. Whenever a Teivali man passes this spot for the first time he throws three stones called *ovi0nikârs*. Similarly, a Tarthar man passing Katchâr for the first time throws three stones in

[1] This is one of several instances in which the initial *t* of a word is omitted in compound forms.

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into more esoteric matters, when only one man was alone with me and was not subject to the restraints imposed by auditors who might disapprove of the utterance of the names of the dead.

One result of the taboo on the names of dead ancestors was that the record of a man's family was never obtained from one of that family; but this was no disadvantage, for the genealogical knowledge of those from whom I obtained my data was so wide that it covered the families of the whole or nearly the whole of the Toda community. I have no doubt that I could have obtained the whole of the material given in the tables from two men, one of whom would have given me the genealogies of the Tartharol, and the other those of the Teivaliol, and if I had chosen my informants wisely, I believe that their information would have been as full and accurate as that obtained from my many sources of information. Further, I found that the Teivaliol had a wide knowledge of Tarthar genealogies, and *vice versâ*, though a man of one division usually refused to guarantee the accuracy of anything he told me about the other division, and would often disclaim knowledge which some chance observation later showed that he possessed, at any rate in some measure.

Although certain Todas had special reputations for their knowledge of pedigrees and were undoubtedly more proficient in this respect than the general mass of the community, I believe that the knowledge was very widely spread throughout the people. My guide Kòdrner never professed to any special knowledge of genealogies, and yet chance observations would often show that his acquaintance with the pedigrees of the community was far more extensive and accurate than his professions would have led one to expect.

The results of the inquiry are given in Tables 1–72.[1] This large accumulation of genealogical material was obtained from people who professed at first not to know the names of their own fathers and mothers. It would have been quite easy for me to have come away from the Todas and reported them as a people who did not preserve their genealogies.

The pedigrees are recorded in exactly the same manner as those which I have published in the *Reports of the Torres*

[1] [pp. 749-788]

584 becomes older it is expected that the garment shall become larger and more valuable.

If any member of the girl's family should die it is expected that the boy's family shall on each occasion give a sum of eight annas or a rupee. This gift is called *tinkanik panm ittpimi*, or "we give a piece of money to the purse."

Formerly the boy's family had also to contribute one of the buffaloes killed at the funeral, but this custom is now obsolete. The contribution of buffaloes and money from the boy to his parents-in-law is called *pödri*. The boy has to take part in a ceremony at the funeral in which a cloth is laid on the dead body, and with this ceremony there is associated a further gift of one rupee, paid to the relatives of the dead person by the family of the boy who has married into the family of the deceased (see pp. 358).

881 616 Certain ceremonies are performed shortly before the girl reaches the age of puberty. One is called *putkuli tâzâr ittiti*, or "mantle over he puts," in which a man belonging to the Tartharol if the girl is Teivali, and to the Teivaliol if she is Tarthar, comes in the day-time to the village of the girl and lying down beside her puts his mantle over her so that it covers both and remains there for a few minutes.

881 836 626 Fourteen or fifteen days later a man of strong physique, who may belong to either division and to any clan, except that of the girl, comes and stays in the village for one night and has intercourse with the girl. This must take place before puberty, and it seemed that there were few things regarded as more disgraceful than that this ceremony should be delayed till after this period. It might be a subject of reproach and abuse for the remainder of the woman's life, and it was even said that men might refuse to marry her if this ceremony had not been performed at the proper time.

583 It is usually some years later, when the girl is about fifteen or sixteen, that she joins her husband and goes to live with him at his village. The parents of the husband announce that they will fetch the girl on a certain day, which must be one of two or three days of the week,[1] different for each clan. The husband, accompanied by his father and a male

[1] The probable rule is that the day must not be a *madnol* or *palinol*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

583 relative of the same clan, goes to the village of the girl, and the three are feasted with rice and jaggery. The husband puts five rupees into the pocket of the girl's mantle and then takes her home. There is no ceremony of any kind, not even the salutation such as was performed at the original ceremony.

584 686 If the youth does not wish to live with the girl when the time arrives, he may annul the marriage by giving one buffalo as a fine (*kwadr*) to the girl's parents; but, on the other hand, the parents of the girl have to return as many buffaloes as he may have given as *pödri* at funeral ceremonies.

If the girl refuses to join her husband the fine is heavier, and at the present time usually amounts to five or ten buffaloes, the number being settled by a council according to the circumstances of the people. The girl's family must also return any buffaloes given as *pödri*. According to Harkness the fines were in his day much heavier; three buffaloes when the man annulled the marriage, and as many as fifty when this was done by the woman (see p. 538), and the Todas acknowledge that the fine for refusing to fulfil the marriage contract is now lighter than it used to be.

583 When a girl goes to join her husband she may be given clothing or ornaments by her parents or brothers, and their gifts are known as *adrparn* or dowry, but I could not learn that there were any definite regulations prescribing what should be given. It seemed also that occasionally buffaloes might be given as *adrparn*.

THE REGULATION OF MARRIAGE

582 616 588 591 The Todas have very definite restrictions on the freedom of individuals to marry. One of the most important of these is that which prevents intermarriage between the Tartharol and the Teivaliol. These groups are endogamous divisions of the Toda people. Although a Teivali man is strictly prohibited from marrying a Tarthar woman, he may take a woman of this division to live with him at his village, the man being known as the *mokkthodvaiol* of the woman. This connexion, which will be more fully considered at

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the end of this chapter, may be regarded as a recognised form of marriage, but it differs from the orthodox form in that the children of the union belong to the division of the mother. They do not, however, belong to her clan, but to that of her legal husband. Similarly, the same kind of connexion may be formed between a Tarthar man and a Teivali woman, but in this case the woman is not allowed to live at the village of the *mokkthodvaiol*, who may either visit her occasionally or go to live at her village.

It has already been mentioned that each of the two divisions of the Toda community is divided into a number of septs or clans, and these are definite exogamous groups. No man or woman may marry a member of his or her own clan, but must marry into another clan. This restriction applies even to the members of clans which are known to have separated from one another in recent times. Thus, among the Tartharol certain members of the Melgarsol separated from the main group, and their descendants have formed a separate group or groups known as the Kidmadol and Karshol (see p. 664), but although the separation took place many years ago there still remains a definite prohibition against a marriage of members of these clans with the Melgars people. The clans of Pedrkars and Kulhem among the Teivaliol are offshoots of the Kuudrol, but here the separation seems to have occurred so long ago that the common origin is not regarded as a bar to marriage.

In the whole of the genealogical record given in the tables at the end of the volume there is not a single case in which marriage has occurred between two members of the same clan.

Among many races at or below the stage of culture of the Todas prohibition of marriage within the clan is usually accompanied by prohibition of sexual intercourse, and such intercourse is regarded as incest and often as the greatest of crimes. It is doubtful whether there is any such strict prohibition among the Todas. In the qualifying ceremony for the office of *palol* known as *tesherst*, it is ordained that the woman who takes part in the ceremony shall be one who has never had intercourse with one of her own clan, and I was told that it was far from easy to find such a woman. The

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[837] Intercourse between a wife and another man is not regarded as a reason for divorce
586 but rather as a perfectly natural occurrence.

627 When a man divorces his wife, the woman's people usually
684 complain to the *naim* or council, but if it is decided that the man shall take his wife back, there appears to be no way of compelling him to do so. In any case the husband pays a fine (*kwadr*) of one buffalo to the wife's people, just as he would have done if he had refused to take her when she reached the marriageable age, but he receives back any buffaloes he may have given as *pòdri*. Even if the council decides that the man ought to take his wife back and he refuses, a fine greater than one buffalo cannot be inflicted.

587 If the divorced woman re-marries, the previous husband does not receive anything, and any buffaloes given become the property of the woman's family.

THE MOKHTHODITI INSTITUTION

588 In addition to the regular marriage, there is another re-
837 cognised mode of union between men and women, which
851 is called *mokhthoditi*. The man who becomes the consort of a woman in this way is called her *mokhthodvaiol*—viz.,
616 "man who keeps *mokh*,"[1] and the woman is called *sed-*
595 *vaitasmokh*—viz., "woman who joins." The *mokhthoditi* union differs from the regular marriage in one important respect. It may be, and usually is, formed between Tarthar men and Teivali women, or between Teivali men and Tarthar women. The great majority of instances of which I heard were of this kind. One woman might have more than one *mokhthodvaiol*, the largest number of which I heard being three. Similarly, a man might have more than one *sed-vaitasmokh*, but as the custom entailed considerable expenses on the man, this was not common, and I did not hear of any instance in which a man had more than two.

The *mokhthodvaiol* has no rights over any children who might be supposed to be his; they are regarded as the children of the regular marriage. This would be the case

[1] *Mokh* here means 'child' in general, not son.

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even if the husband were dead or separated from his wife. If a Teivali man took a Tarthar widow as *sedvaitasmokh*, and a child were born, the child would belong to the Tartharol, and would be regarded as the son of the dead husband of the woman, and would belong to his clan. The child might live with the *mokhthodvaiol*, and be spoken of ordinarily as the child of this man, but yet for all social and legal purposes, the child would be a member of its mother's husband's clan. The dead husband is regarded as the father because it was he who last performed the *pursütpimi* ceremony. 588 837 851 616 595

There are two forms of the *mokhthoditi* union. In one the woman lives with the man just as if she were his real wife, almost the only difference being that any children would be legally the children of the legal husband of the woman or of some man of her division called upon to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony. In the other and more usual form the man visits the woman at the house of her husband.

Owing to the restriction on the visits of Teivali women to Tarthar villages, there is a difference in the nature of the *mokhthoditi* union in the two divisions. A Teivali *mokhthodvaiol* may take his wife to live with him at one of the Teivali villages, but in those cases in which Tarthar men live permanently with Teivali women, the *mokhthodvaiol* must live at the woman's village. There are two examples of this practice at the present time in which Tarthar men live altogether at Teivali villages. 588 837 616 628 591

When a man wishes to have a given woman as his *sedvaitasmokh* he goes to the husband or husbands of the woman and asks for his or their consent. As a sample of the kind of negotiations which ensue, I will give a definite instance. A Tarthar man wished to become *mokhthodvaiol* to the wife of two Teivali brothers. He went to them and asked for their consent, which they gave, but said they should like to have the agreement confirmed by a third party (*nedrvol*), and they settled on a *nedrvol* to whom all went. The *nedrvol* asked each if he consented to the arrangement, and it was decided that the Tarthar man should give a *putkuli* worth three rupees annually to the woman's husbands, and the former became *mokhthodvaiol* to the woman on that day.

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588 A few days later the two husbands and the *mokkthodvaiol* went to the woman's father and brothers (called collectively
616 *paiol*), and the *mokkthodvaiol* promised that he would give
837 the woman either a *keivali* (necklace) or a *sin* (gold earrings), each worth about thirty rupees. [A poorer man might only give a *pultki* (bracelet), worth about twelve rupees]. He also promised that he would give a three-year-old buffalo to the son of the woman, this being called *mokh ir kwadrti*, *i.e.*, "son buffalo he gives." After making these promises, the *mokkthodvaiol* performed the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* to all the *paiol*, *i.e.*, he bowed down before each, and placed his head beneath their feet.

[601] As we have seen earlier, not only are the relatives of the *sedvaitazmokh* called *paiol*, the term in use for the relatives of a real wife, but the father of the woman is called *mun* and her mother *mumi*, names which are also terms of blood-relationship.

[764] When a man or woman dies, the *mokkthodvaiol* of the woman and the *sedvaitazmokh* of the man have definitely assigned duties at the funeral ceremonies. Each wears a ring on the ring finger of the left hand and has to put various things with the left hand into the pocket of the *putkuli* of the dead person.[1]

[114] The *mokkthoditi* institution was first described by Ward in 1821,[2] the man being called by Ward the *coombhal* (the *kumbliol*, cloak or blanket man). This is the Badaga name, and it has usually been adopted by those who have since referred to the institution.

[723] The custom is said to have originated with the god Kulinkars, who was the *mokkthodvaiol* of the goddess Nòtirzi, but I could obtain no details of the way in which the custom is supposed to have arisen.

588 The ceremonial connected with the process of becoming
837 a *mokkthodvaiol* is very much like that of the real marriage. A garment is given or promised and the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* is paid to the woman's relatives. The chief difference is that the gifts are more numerous

[1] For a full account see p. 366.

[2] Grigg's *Nilgiri Manual*, Appendix, p. lxxiv.

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still in use. Thus the people of Pirspurs have now become the Pämol and the Kusharfol are often named after Umgas, a village in more frequent use than Kusharf. In general the villages belonging to a clan are situated in the same part of the hills, but a clan often possesses outlying villages at a considerable distance from the chief group. Sometimes these outlying villages are of comparatively recent origin, and in other cases they have been established on account of grazing necessities; thus several clans which have their chief seats near Ootacamund have villages in the Kundahs or in the district near Makurti Peak, which are visited in the dry season.

618 621 361

The members of a clan have many common rights and privileges which bind them together, so that the clan-tie has a very real meaning. Property, however, as we shall see shortly, is largely centred in the family or the individual, and the Todas are in a state of social evolution in which the common bond constituted by membership of the clan has been largely replaced by the bond constituted by the family. They are in an intermediate condition between the state of society in which the clan is the social unit and that in which the family has taken this position.

618 178

Nearly all who have previously written about the Todas have described them as divided into five clans—viz., the Peiki, Pekkan, Kenna, Todi, or Tothi, and Kuttan. These are the five divisions recognised by the Badagas, and a Badaga knows each Toda as belonging to one of them. The Todas are also perfectly acquainted with these divisions, and they could always say, if asked, to which of them a given village or a given man belonged. If a Toda is asked by a European to which clan or division he belongs, he will probably give one of these names, but I do not believe that they are in use among themselves, being reserved for their intercourse with Badagas and other Indian castes and with Europeans.

101 177 618 616

The Peiki of the Badaga classification are the Teivaliol; the Pekkan correspond to the Melgarsol, the people of Kidmad and Karsh being also usually included in this group. Kenna is the Badaga name of the Karsol; the Todi or Tothi include two clans, the Nödrsol and the Panol, while the Kuttan com-

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101 177 618 616 prise the remainder of the Tarthar clans—viz., those of Taradr, Keradr, Kanödrs, Kwödrdoni, Pām and Nidrsi. I could obtain no direct information from the Todas which would explain why the Badaga classification should differ from their own. It is possible that it is an old classification of the Todas, but this is unlikely, since it is probable that the intercourse with the Badagas is not very ancient. It seems to me possible that it may have arisen out of the constitution of the *naim* or council. This has four Toda representatives belonging to Kunsdr (representing the Teivaliol), Kars, Nödrs and Taradr. This would correspond to four of the Badaga divisions, and the fifth, the Melgarsol or Pekkan, would certainly be well known to the Badagas through their privileges as *mörol*. It is possible that the Nödrs representative used also to represent Pan, and that the Taradr member represented the remaining clans, and, if so, it would point to there having been some old five-fold division of the kind believed in by the Badagas. It is quite clear that the five-fold division has no influence on the marriage regulations and Peiki, Todi and Kuttan all marry freely within their divisions. Except in connexion with the *naim*, I could learn of nothing which would show that the five-fold division has any social significance, and I know of no other way in which the Panol are associated with the Nödrsol nor of any other way in which the six clans included in the Kuttan are associated together. It is possible that the five-fold division is connected with some customs regulating the payment of the Badaga tribute to the Todas, but I could learn nothing of such customs.

618 Each clan has divisions of two kinds called *kudr* and *pölm*. The *kudr* is a division of ceremonial, the *pölm* of practical, importance.

THE KUDR

Normally each clan has two *kudr* and two only, and, as we have seen in Chapter XIII, these divisions become of the greatest importance in connexion with the *irnörtiti* ceremony, the whole regulation of which is dominated by the division into *kudr*. So far as I could ascertain, the *kudr* has now no

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CHAPTER XXIX

TEIVALIOL AND TARTHAROL

THE existence of these two divisions of the Toda people raises one of the most interesting problems of their social organisation. The fact that the Todas are an Indian people at once suggests that we have to do here with some form of the institution of caste. Each division is endogamous, as is the caste, and each is divided into a number of exogamous septs resembling the gotras of a caste. Again, there is some amount of specialisation of function, the Teivaliol being the division from which the most sacred of the dairymen are chosen.

The names of the two divisions probably correspond with this differentiation of function. The Teivaliol evidently derive their name from the sacred office, *deva*, of Sanskrit origin, being in common use in South India for 'sacred,' while *devalayam* means a temple.[1] The origin of Tartharol[2] is more doubtful, but I believe that the word carries the idea of ordinary, *târ* being used sometimes in this sense.

There is little restriction on social intercourse between the two divisions. So far as I am aware, they can eat together, and a member of one division can receive food from any member of another.

Though intermarriage is forbidden, the irregular unions in which the man is the *mokhthodvaiol* of the woman (see Chap.

[1] There is also a place called Devali in the Wainad which may possibly be connected in some way with the Teivaliol.

[2] Grigg (*Manual*, p. 187) derives the word from *tasan*, a servant. *S* or *sh* is sometimes inserted into the word Tartharol, but it is purely euphonic, and I do not think that this derivation is at all probable.

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588 XXII) are frequent, and, indeed, it seems to be the rule for
616 connexions of this kind to be formed between members of the
514 two divisions.

The only definite restriction on social intercourse is that
486 a Teivali woman may not visit a Tarthar village, so that if a Tarthar man becomes the *mokhthodvaiol* of a Teivali woman, he has to visit her at her home, or may go to live at her village altogether or for long periods. There is no similar restriction on the visits of Tarthar women to Teivali villages, and at the time of my visit at least one Tarthar woman was living altogether at the village of her Teivali consort.

The prohibition of the visits of Teivali women to Tarthar villages is said to have had its origin in the misbehaviour of certain Teivali women who once visited the village of Nòdrs, but I did not learn in what their offence consisted.

616 The most obvious features which mark off the two divisions
234 from one another occur in connexion with the dairy organisa-
793 tion. The most important dairy institutions of the Todas belong to the Tartharol, but their dairymen are Teivaliol.
184 This applies not only to the *ti* dairies, but also to the *wursuli* dairies of the Tarthar villages. The highest dairy office, that
554 of *palol*, can only be held by a Teivali man, while the lower offices of *kaltmokh* and *wursol* must be held by them or by one of the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. According to tradition, the members of the Melgarsol were also at one time capable of holding the office of *palol*, but lost the right owing to the misbehaviour of one of their number. As I have already suggested, the Melgarsol may have been formerly a Teivali clan, but on repeated inquiry, it seemed clear that they had always been Tartharol, so that at one time in Toda history certain Tartharol were permitted to hold the highest dairy office as well as the lower grades for which they are still eligible. The position of the Melgars clan is, however, so much of a mystery in itself that it can contribute little to the understanding of our present difficulties.

Although the Teivaliol hold the highest dairy offices, and while holding them have a very high degree of sanctity, it is quite clear that, apart from the holding of these offices,

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they have no sanctity whatever. A Teivali man who, while holding office as *palol*, is so sacred that he may not be touched by nor touch anyone, and may be visited even by his nearest relatives on two days of the week only, becomes an ordinary person, with absolutely no restrictions on intercourse, the moment he ceases to hold office.

Further, the fact that the Teivaliol hold these sacred offices does not lead to any respect being shown by Tartharol towards Teivaliol; there is not the slightest trace of the belief that their right to exert the highest priestly functions gives the Teivaliol any superiority, nor, it seemed clear to me, did the right inspire the Teivaliol themselves with any feeling of superiority. Indeed, it was distinctly the other way. The Tartharol always boasted that they were the superior people and that the Teivaliol were their servants, and the Teivaliol always seemed to me to acquiesce, though unwillingly, in this opinion. Whenever I asked a Tarthar man why he regarded his division as superior, he always answered, "We have the *ti* and we appoint the Teivaliol to act as our servants." In the case of the Teivali dairyman acting as *wursol* at the Tarthar villages, I had definite evidence in more than one instance that the priest was regarded as a paid servant, to be treated with scant respect except in the special points prescribed by custom. The fact that the Teivali dairyman living at a Tarthar village may not touch any of the Tartharol puts him very much at the mercy of the latter, and the dairyman has, so far as I know, no redress for any wrong, real or fancied, which he may receive.

The inferiority of the Teivaliol came out in one very striking point to which I shall return later. I learnt from the Tartharol that there were certain differences in language between the two divisions; that the Teivaliol used certain words as names of objects which were not used by the Tartharol. I obtained a list of these, and later approached a Teivali man on the matter. When I opened the subject he was very much taken aback, and then became very angry because I had been told of the difference, though its existence was not denied. His whole attitude was that of a man ashamed of his lowly origin. Far more indignation was

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198 shown by him and by other Teivaliol because I had been
616 told of their peculiarities of language than was ever shown
after the exposure of deeds distinctly immoral even from the
554 Toda point of view. I shall return to this subject again
shortly; I mention it here because it seemed to me to afford
the clearest evidence that the Teivaliol were conscious of
their own inferiority in the social scale.

616 In the story of Kwoten we find that the Tarthar hero is
accompanied by Erten of Keadr, a Teivali man, and the
latter was said to have been the servant of the former. This
suggests the possibility that at one time the Teivaliol may
have acted as servants to the Tartharol, even more definitely
than at present.

184 At the present time there are some features of the social
616 organisation and social life which might be held to weigh
strongly against the idea that the Teivaliol are the inferior
623 division. The *monegar* of the Todas is one of the Teivaliol,
177 and the most influential member of the *naim*, or council, at the
present time is a Teivali man. I believe the monegarship,
651 however, to be a recent institution, possibly dating only from
the advent of Europeans to the hills. The chief duty of the
monegar is the collection of the assessment made by the
Government, and it is quite consistent with Toda ideas that
this troublesome, and from their point of view menial duty
176 should be handed over to one of the Teivaliol. The great
184 power of the Teivaliol in the *naim* is probably still more
recent and due to the influence of one man. The Teivaliol
616 should have only one representative on the *naim*, while the
623 Tartharol should have three, and it is entirely owing to the
powerful personality of Kuriolv that this balance has been
disturbed, and that the influence of the Teivaliol is so
predominant. It is possible that Kuriolv will do much
to obliterate the social inequality of the two divisions, though
I suspect from what the Todas told me that it is intended to
revert to the old order as soon as he dies.

184 There is one custom which shows very clearly that it is
234 only as dairymen that the Teivaliol have any sanctity. If the
sacred buffaloes (*pasthir*) of the Teivaliol go to a Tarthar village,
616 they may be milked either at a *wursuli* or a *tarvali*, and the

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Tarthar people may use the milk. If Tarthar buffaloes, however, go to a Teivali village, the Teivaliol may neither milk them nor use their milk or its products. Thus buffaloes which are normally milked by a Teivali dairyman when at their own village may not be milked by Teivaliol at a Teivali village, while there is no restriction on the milking of Teivali buffaloes by the Tartharol. 184 234 616

Although the Tartharol are in the habit of speaking of the Teivali dairymen as their servants, they have no means of enforcing service. The post of dairyman of any kind is one of profit, and, as we have seen, when the post, even of *palol*, ceases to bring a sufficient income, the Tartharol fail to obtain people to occupy it.

In the ceremonial of the dairy, the relation between the two divisions is entirely one-sided. The Tartharol own the buffaloes and the dairies, and the Teivaliol do the work. In certain other ceremonies, there is more reciprocity in the relations of the two divisions to one another.

The Tartharol have certain definite duties at a Teivali funeral and the Teivaliol at a Tarthar funeral, and in most cases the duties are thoroughly reciprocal and the two divisions appear to act on equal terms. Thus, in the earth-throwing ceremony, the earth is dug by a Teivali man at a Tarthar funeral, and the Tarthar men before they throw ask the Teivaliol whether they may do so. At a Teivali funeral these positions are reversed. Similarly, the buffaloes are caught by Tartharol for Teivaliol and *vice versa*. 616 764

On the other hand, there are some ceremonies in which the Teivaliol have definite duties to perform at a Tarthar funeral which are not reciprocated. In the earth-throwing ceremony of the Tartharol, earth is first thrown by the Teivali *wursol*, but he does this as dairyman and not as one of the Teivaliol. The *kodtiti* ceremony of the second funeral is, however, only performed at a Tarthar funeral, and in it a Teivali man plays an important part, wearing the cloak which has been covering the relics and adorning himself with women's ornaments. He hangs on the neck of the calf the bell called *tukulir mani* and touches the relics with the bow and arrow after asking the Tartharol if he may do so. It is said 616 765 184

616 765 184 that this ceremony is performed at a Tarthar funeral in order to purify the Tartharol with *tudr* before they go to Amnòdr, and the prominent position of the Teivaliol in this ceremony is evidently due to the use of this sacred substance.

After a funeral the Tartharol in general shave their heads, and this is not done by the Teivaliol, but it is also not done by the Melgarsol, which shows that the difference is connected with the different relations of the two divisions to the dairy ritual.

184 616 764 778 783 One important difference between the funeral ceremonies of the two divisions is that the *mani*, or sacred bell, is not used by the Teivaliol, except by the Piedr clan, and in this case the bell is hung on the neck of the buffalo about to be slaughtered by a Tarthar man belonging to the Nòdrs clan. The use of a *mani* at the funeral appears to be pre-eminently a Tarthar custom.

A further distinction between the two divisions is a consequence of the last difference. The Teivaliol do not purify the dairy after the funeral ceremonies because nothing has been taken from the dairy to be defiled. Similarly, the fact that the Teivaliol and Melgarsol use a male buffalo calf for the ceremony of purifying the various funeral places is connected in some way with the use of *tudr* by these divisions, while the general body of the Tartharol who are not purified with *tudr* use the blood of an adult female buffalo.

It will thus be seen that there is definite reciprocity between the two divisions as regards certain funeral duties, while the differences between the procedures of the two divisions are largely, if not altogether, connected with the use of the *mani* among the Tartharol and of the *tudr* tree among the Teivaliol, and each of these are points at which the funeral ceremonies come into relation with the dairy ritual. The differences in funeral rites would seem to be chiefly due to the different organisation of the dairy and its ritual in the two divisions.

616 796 There are other ceremonies in which the duties of the two divisions are reciprocal. In the ceremony of ear-piercing, a Tarthar man pierces one ear of a Teivali boy and a Teivali man performs the same service for a Tarthar boy, and in the ceremony called *putkuli tâzâr ütiti* (see p. 503), a man

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belonging to one division acts when the girl undergoing the ceremony belongs to the other.

One of the most obscure of Toda ceremonies is that called *tersamptpimi*, which is performed together with or later than the ceremony of name-giving when a child is about three months old. The chief feature of the ceremony is that a lock of the child's hair is cut by the maternal uncle of the child, the hair of a Tarthar child being cut with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*, while the hair of a Teivali child is cut with an ordinary knife. The special interest, however, for our present purpose lies in the fact that this ceremony must be performed on the day after the second funeral of a Tarthar man, and this whether the child be Tarthar or Teivali.

This ceremony points to the existence of a belief in the influence of the spirit of the dead man, and I have already (p. 404) given reasons why it is probable that this influence should be regarded as good rather than bad. But, whether good or bad, we are left wholly without a clue why this influence should be exerted by the ghosts of the Tartharol and not by those of the Teivaliol.

In the ceremonies connected with childbirth the ritual of one division differs from that of the other more widely than in any other case. The most striking difference is that the ceremonial of the artificial dairy is limited to the Tartharol, and here again it is possible that the difference is a secondary consequence of the difference in dairy organisation. In the chapter dealing with these ceremonies, I have thrown out the conjecture that the use of an artificial dairy, and of threads from the *madtuni*, or sacred dairy garment, may be a survival of a time when women had more to do with the dairy ritual than they have at present; and if there is anything in this conjecture, it would point to this connexion of women with the dairy having been limited to the Tartharol, or to its having persisted longer in this division.

The fact that a Tarthar woman drinks milk drawn by a Melgars man, while a Teivali woman drinks water which is assumed to be the milk of a pregnant buffalo, again brings the differences into relation with the dairy ritual, but another

184 difference between the two divisions in the hand-burning
846 ceremony is entirely foreign to this ritual. This is the
616 ceremony of invoking Pirn and Piri, and there is no evident reason why this rite should be practised by the members of one division and not by those of the other. Similarly, the ceremony of offering to Namav by a Teivali woman when going to the seclusion-hut after childbirth stands entirely apart from the dairy ritual.

Both of these ceremonies are unlike the ordinary run of Toda ritual, and it is, on the whole, most probable that they have been borrowed.

616 We have thus seen that a large number of the ceremonial
796 differences between the two divisions may be regarded as
174 secondary consequences of the differences in the dairy ritual and that the few ceremonies which stand in no relation to the
184 dairy ritual may have been borrowed.

Taking the differences of ceremonial as a whole, it is tempting to surmise that some of them may have arisen owing to differences of environment during some past stage of Toda history. The Todas now form so small a community, living in so small a space and knowing so much about each other, that it seems improbable that the differences can have come altogether into existence while they have been on the Nilgiri Hills. In so far as they can be explained as secondary consequences of the dairy organisation, it is possible that they may have arisen since the Todas have been on the Nilgiris, but when the practices have no relation to the dairy ritual it seems improbable that one division would have adopted a custom quite independently of the other.

174 Such a view would involve the consequence that at some
184 time in their history the two divisions of the Toda people
192 have had a different environment, and if the Todas are derived from one tribe or caste, this could only have come about if
199 the two divisions came to the hills at different times, the interval having been sufficiently long to enable differences of
616 ceremonial to have arisen. The differences would perhaps be still more readily explicable if we suppose the Tartharol and Teivaliol to have been derived from two different castes or tribes which reached the hills at different times, and I will

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

now proceed to give some evidence which points to this having really happened.

Perhaps the strongest evidence in this direction is the existence of the differences of language to which I have already referred. The chief differences are as follows:—

	Tarthar.	Teivali.
Wooden spoon	*chudi* or *tudi*	*kirstegi*
Basket	*tòdri*	*putukèri*
Food vessel	*paterkh*	*tòdriterkh*
Round metal vessel	*kûdikunn*	*kûdichakh*
Milking-vessel	*pun*	*kònipun*
A dairy vessel	*tat*	*kashtat*
Iron instrument	*pòditch*	*pòtch*
Comb	*tirkòli*	*siekhkòli*
Small boy's cloak	*kuchâr*	*kupichâr*
Roof	*pòdri*	*idrnpòdri*
Western side of hut	*meilmerkal*	*meilkushkòni*
Eastern side of hut	*kimerkal*	*kikushkòni*
Mushroom	*kiûn*	*âlabi*
A tree	*tipòti*	*ketak*
A black fruit	*kalpom*	*akatpom*
To-morrow morning	*telikhaski*	*pedrkhaski*

I was given one sentence as quite different in the two divisions. This was "Bring a piece of ragged cloth to the dairy!" By the Tartharol this would be rendered, *Palivorsk pari evâ*! but by the Teivaliol, *Kutanpari palivorsk panmeiliteivâ*! the chief difference here being in the verb.

Though these are all the differences in vocabulary of which I could obtain a record, I was told by the Tartharol that formerly there were many more, and that they were diminishing in number because "the Teivaliol were now learning to speak properly."

I think it possible that a phonologist might also detect many differences in pronunciation and accent in the two divisions. I thought that I detected such differences myself —that the Tartharol used a *k* when the Teivaliol used a *g*, for instance—but I am so uncertain about this that I do not feel entitled to lay any emphasis on it. In one case, however, the Todas themselves told me of a difference in pronunciation. They said that the usual word for dairy was pronounced as I have written it in this book but that by the Tartharol it was rather *piili*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

184 197 Scanty as the evidence is, there can be no doubt of the existence of dialectical differences between the two divisions of the Toda people.

174 184 616 775 Another indication that the Todas are two tribes or castes which have coalesced is of a different and more doubtful kind. There is some reason to believe that people sometimes preserve a relic of their migrations in the belief concerning the path taken by the dead in their journey to the next world. We have seen that the Todas believe that the dead journey to the west, but the special point of interest in the present connexion is that the dead Teivaliol are believed to travel by a path different from that traversed by the Tartharol.

I must reserve till the next chapter the full consideration of the path by which the Todas reached the hills, but I hope to show then that there is a great probability that the Todas came from Malabar. If this view be correct, it is not impossible that in the belief as to the different paths traversed by the dead, we may have a relic of two independent migrations.

174 142 A third indication is one about which I am still more doubtful, because I have no exact observations to support it. When on the hills I was struck at times by differences in the general appearance of the people of the two divisions. Towards the end of my visit I sometimes made a successful guess that an unknown village I was entering was a Teivali village, and this guess was founded, so far as I could tell, on a difference in the appearance of the people. The Teivaliol seemed to me to be, on the whole, darker, and to have a lower type of face. My surmises in this direction only took shape towards the end of my visit, when it was too late to make any exact observations. I know how dangerous such impressions are, and I do not wish to lay any stress on them, and I mention them hoping that more exact observations on the point may be made at some future time.

174 361 621 616 The idea that the two divisions of the Toda community reached the hills at different times is perhaps supported by their distribution on the Nilgiri plateau. In Fig. 73 I give a plan of the district, giving all the villages from which

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

174 Keadr would suggest that this clan was assigned a seat soon
361 after the Teivaliol had crossed the Pakhwar, and that the
621 others journeyed on northwards.

The plans certainly make it clear that there is a difference
● 616 in the geographical distribution of the two divisions, and the nature of this distribution is consistent with the advent of the two divisions at different times. It will be noticed in both plans that one Tarthar clan has its seat in the middle

[101]

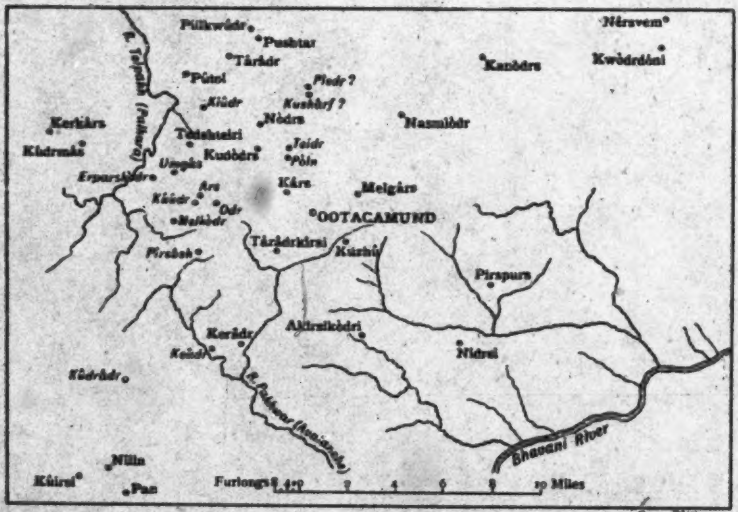

FIG. 74.

of what would otherwise be exclusively a Teivali district. This clan is that of Taradr, and it is perhaps significant that the Taradrol have many features which differentiate them from Tarthar clans in general, especially in their possession of the *kugvalir* and in the possession of their own Amnòdr, though, as we have seen, the latter feature may merely be a later consequence of their isolated position.

184 It is known that when two tribes coalesce to form a com-
616 munity, the inferior people may act as the sorcerers and wizards
791 of the community. At the present time the majority of the *teuol*, or diviners, belong to the Teivaliol, but this branch of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

sacred function is not limited to that division. The magical powers of the sorcerer seem to be now almost equally divided among the two divisions, and there is no evidence that magical powers in the past have been attributed to one division more than to the other.

In the preceding pages I have put together the chief evidence which throws any light on the problem raised by the existence of the two divisions of the Toda people. It is far from conclusive, but I incline to the view that the present organisation of the Todas is due to the coalescence of two tribes or castes which came to the hills at different times. It seems probable that the Tartharol arrived first and occupied the hills widely. When later the Teivaliol came, it seems possible that they were placed by the Tartharol in those priestly offices which, though honourable, involved many hardships and restrictions, and were assigned dwelling-places and pastures in a comparatively limited district of the hills.

The analysis of the genealogical record has brought out some interesting differences between the two divisions. The data compiled from the genealogical tables by Mr. Punnett[1] would seem to show that the preponderance of males was and is still greater among the Teivaliol than among the Tartharol. The tables provide statistics roughly for four generations. In the second of these,[2] the number of males for every hundred females was 159·7 among the Tartharol, 259 among the Teivaliol. For the last generation, these numbers have sunk to 129·2 and 171 respectively. These figures almost certainly mean that female infanticide was more in vogue among the Teivaliol and is still practised by them to a greater extent than by the Tartharol.

This would seem to show that the Teivaliol have clung more closely to the old custom of infanticide and may be taken as an indication of the greater conservativeness of the priestly caste, but the Teivaliol chiefly occupy those parts of the hills furthest removed from the European settlements,

[1] *Proc. Camb. Philos. Soc.*, 1904, vol. xii, p. 481.

[2] I neglect the first generation on account of the small number of families for which there are data.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

174 and the greater freedom from external influence is probably
177 an important reason for the greater frequency of infanticide
616 among them at present, though it will not explain the greater
847 prevalence in the earlier generations.

184 The Teivaliol are now much the smaller of the two divisions, the numbers at the most liberal estimate being less than half of those of the Tartharol, and this difference is certainly of long standing. It may be due to original disproportion of numbers, but if female infanticide has long been more frequent among the Teivaliol, this might furnish a cause of their smaller population. It is perhaps significant in this connexion that the only extinct clan of which I have a record is a Teivali clan, the Kemenol, which is said to have become extinct about a hundred years ago, and the causes which led to its extinction may well have produced a great diminution of numbers in other branches of the Teivaliol.

3: Brooks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

The total number of Todas, male and female, in Todanâd and Mekanâd in 1835 was officially* reported to be 194, in 45 villages.

Todas are divided into two classes, which cannot intermarry, viz.:—

1. Dêvalyâl.
2. Tarsezhâl.

The first class consists of the Peiki clan, corresponding in some respects to Brahmans. The second of the four remaining clans, the Pekkan, Kuttan, Kenna, and Todi.

The Peikis eat apart; and a Peiki woman may not go to a village of the Tarsezhâl, although the women of the latter may visit Peikis.

The Peikis are not, however, like the Brahmans, recognised as superiors. On the contrary the other clans say, "Are they not our servants?"

Peiki women are called Kotti, those of the other clans Panni.

For a description of the men and women I quote from Dr. Shortt's *Tribes of the Neilgherries*, page 4.

"ETHNOLOGY.—*Toda Tribe.*—In physique the Todas are by far the most pre-
"possessing as a tribe, and it is this superiority in personal appearance, in conjunction
"with their singular costume, peculiar mode of wearing their hair, their bold and
"self-possessed deportment, and unique social and domestic institutions, that have
"at all times attracted for them the greatest share of attention and interest from
"Europeans. In complexion the Todas are of a dull copper hue,† not deeper or
"darker in colour than most of the inhabitants of the plains; but they are darker than
"the Badagas and many of the Kotas, a few of whom are met with fairer even than
"the Badagas. The Kurumbas and Irulas are not only darker than the Todas, but
"strikingly so to the eye. The Todas are tall in stature, well-proportioned, and in
"features partake of the Caucasian type:—*Head*, slightly elongated like the Hindoos;
"*forehead*, rather narrow and receding, measuring 2½ inches from the root of the nose
"to the growth of hair and scalp; *eyebrows*, thick and approaching each other; *eyes*,
"moderately large, well formed, expressive, and often intelligent; *irides*, varying in
"colour from hazel to brown;‡ *nose*, long, large, and well-formed, generally aquiline—
"in some slightly rounded, arched, or what is termed Roman, in others cogitative—
"measuring from root to tip 2½ inches, and height from base of alæ to ridge 1½ inches,
"breadth of alæ from side to side 1½ inches; *upper lip*, narrow; *lower lip*, thick or
"full—and face covered with a close thick moustache, whiskers, and beard, all of

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* See letter from Principal Collector of Malabar, 9th February 1835.
Mr. Sullivan, referring to this letter in an official memorandum, dated 29th August 1835, says:—
"This does not tally with former returns, and is certainly incorrect. The Census of 1826 gave a
"total of 326 for the whole Hills; and there is no doubt of their numbers having increased, since
"Captain Harkness counted 300 men, nearly half that number of women, and about as many boys and
"girls at a Toda funeral."

† Agreeing in this respect with Paul Breese' Table, No. 28.

‡ The majority being intermediate with Nos. 1 & 2 of Paul Breese' Tables.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AWGO Toda AWGO

that used by the natives of South Africa. All vegetable food, except the wild fruits which they gather themselves, such as yellow blackberries, wild plums, the hill-gooseberry,* or cherry, as some call it, is obtained from the Vadacas, as already explained. This consists generally of green pulse, barley, millet, and other seeds, which it is the women's duty to winnow and grind, performing the latter operation between two roughly formed circular stones, the lower one fixed, and the upper revolving on it, similar to the ancient querns of Great Britain. It is singular that, though so attached to their buffaloes, the Todas keep no other domestic animal, not even the ubiquitous dog, the companion of man in every quarter of the globe from the polar regions to the equator. I never once saw or heard of a dog in any of their *munds*. This peculiarity, by the way, was specially remarked as a distinguishing trait in the history of the people of the European Drift period; and the dislike, and even abhorrence, evinced towards that animal by the ancient Jews is well known.

I should have mentioned that the Toda tribe is divided into two classes—the sacred, and what may be called for want of a better term the lay. The latter and more numerous class are called *Khootas*, whilst the former are known as the *Terrallees*. These appear to stand in regard to the rest of the community somewhat as did the Levites of old to the children of Israel, as it is from among them alone that the priests can be elected. No marriage can by Toda law take place between these two classes, though it is now sometimes evaded, and the breach winked at. Moreover, a priest, so long as he holds that office, cannot marry, and must keep aloof from all others, excepting those who, like himself, are invested with the sacred character. In order to qualify for this, however, he has to undergo certain initiatory ceremonies and trials, such as long fasting, sleeping in the forest, naked and alone, for several nights in succession; the danger from wild beasts, and the endurance of the chill night-air of these elevated regions, being deemed sufficiently severe tests of his fitness for the office. When fully appointed, the chief priests are distinguished by a different dress from their *confrères*. The subordinate priests, or coadjutors, whose native title, like the

* *Physalis edulis*, a plant about twelve to eighteen inches high, bearing bladder-like pods, enclosing a round yellow fruit, about the size of a common gooseberry, of a very agreeable subacid flavour.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AWGO Toda AWGO

616 others, I cannot recal, undergo a shorter and less severe period
793 of initiation. Both are often dairymen, an office of great honour and importance; but a *Khoota* is equally eligible, provided he goes through certain preparatory rites in order to purify himself for it. The especial duties of the priests are to tend the sacred herds just mentioned; to conduct the periodical sacrifice of a calf to invoke fruitfulness among their herds; to present the daily offering of milk at their temples; and to superintend the funeral rites. Of actual or of assembled worship, they have none, so far as I could discover, though, individually, they offer up occasional prayers to an Invisible Being for recovery or preservation from sickness.

346 Their temples differ but little in appearance from the ordinary huts. One of them, standing in a pretty little glen, near the road between Jakatalla and Coonoor, I made an examination of at a time when the *mund*, about half a mile off, to which it belonged was deserted by its inhabitants. Creeping in on all fours, I discovered, as well as the darkness permitted, that it contained nothing whatever but a square metal bell and a shapeless black stone, about twice the size of a man's head, the latter placed alone on the floor at the end furthest from the entrance. Being unwilling to bring this out to the light, I could not ascertain whether its colour was natural or artificial. The size precluded the notion of its being an aerolite, although it is well known that meteoric stones have been, in the early history of many countries, regarded with religious awe. To this temple, I
782 had often previously seen the priest from the neighbouring *mund* bring, in the early morning, a vessel of new milk; but whether the offering was poured out, as some say it is, as a libation, or merely presented and taken away again, I had no means of ascertaining without the risk of giving annoyance.

000 It will be borne in mind that black stones have, from the earliest times, been objects of reverence or actual adoration from east to west; as, for instance, in Mecca, also among the ancient Romans, and even in the western islands of Scotland, where, moreover, milk was offered to them. Bells, too, have been, in past ages, regarded with veneration, and as having mysterious powers over demons and evil spirits, not only by various Eastern races and castes, but in ancient Britain.

The Todas believe in the existence of an invisible and

TODA MARRIAGE REGULATIONS AND TABOOS

By M. B. EMENEAU

IT IS many years now that the Todas of the Nilgiris in southern India have been known as a people of peculiar customs and it is thirty years since these peculiar customs were described with a wealth of detail by Rivers in his monumental volume.[1] Even now, however, much remains to be gleaned, and this paper attempts to supplement and correct Rivers' account of one important department of the life of the Todas, viz. the regulations concerning marriage and the taboos associated with these regulations.

A comprehensive account of the general framework of Toda organization is necessary, though it will be in part repetition of what is already well-known. The tribe has, first, two main divisions: toɪrðas and töüviɭj.[2] For marriage purposes these divisions are endogamous. Each is subdivided into a number of divisions called mod (the familiar mund is the Badaga form of the word). This word is used also to denote any of the small villages of a few huts in which the Todas live, any of the dairies which stand isolated from a village, including the most sacred of these dairies, the tɪmod, any of the funeral places, which usually are free of buildings, in fact any spot which at any time is the scene of Toda activities. But modoɪɭ, "man (or, people) of the mod" is used only of the members of a mod in its widest sense, that of a subdivision of the people, and in this paper mod will be used only in this sense. The toɪrðas are reckoned to have ten mod, the töüviɭj five. These divisions are exogamous. Membership in a mod is determined by legal paternity; a man belongs to the mod of his "father," as does a woman until her marriage. The "father" is the man who has last given the bow to the mother of the child in the ceremony called puɪʂuʈt, "act of giving bow."[3] Physical paternity does not count at all for legal purposes, as Rivers has clearly stated. The legal father then is the legal husband of the child's mother, and the husband must be of a different mod from that to which his wife belonged by birth.

Further, a man cannot marry a woman if the two are poɭjoɪɭ. Membership in a group of people known as poɭjoɪɭ is determined by descent in the female line. The female members of the poɭjoɪɭ to whom a man belongs are in his own generation his sisters, the daughters of his mother's sisters, the

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906).

[2] For an explanation of the phonetic symbols employed see the final paragraph of the paper.

[3] See Rivers, pp. 319–23.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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648 434 Todas who have no buffaloes and no means of making a sufficient living within the tribal structure find employment on tea-estates. Others who live near Ootacamund make their living by tending cattle, an occupation congenial to pastoralists. In most cases they live in their own villages and do not find their participation in the communal life of the tribe too much restricted by their extra-tribal economic activities.

595 114 In matters of social oraganization no change of any great importance can be found since Rivers made his investigations. The marriage system seems to work quite as it did then, fraternal polyandry modified by polygyny. Rivers' prediction that in time monogamy would prevail is not yet fulfilled. Though it is impossible without a statistical study of Rivers' genealogies brought up to date to make any valid statement concerning the decrease or otherwise of polyandry, I have got no information that would lead me to believe that the institution is a dying one.

588 616 In conjunction with the normal marriage system, in which each of the moieties of the tribe is endogamous, there is another institution, whereby a man from one moiety lives with a woman of the other moiety, each member of the couple having as well his or her legal spouse. Any children resulting from this union are reckoned for all purposes as children of the woman by her husband within her own moiety. In fact, if a man resembles closely his [578] mother's lover (called moxθo:tʃfojo:ɻ), this fact may be thrown up to him as an insult ("son of so-and-so [the mother's lover]!"). 581 Rivers' described (p. 534) how the headman kum:ʤaɻf made an 588 innovation by taking a wife from the moiety not his own, or rather 616 by taking a woman, as he was entitled to do, by the moxθo:tʃfoj 198 institution but insisting on giving compensation for her to her husband as if she were a woman of his own moiety, i. e. by treating her as his legal wife. This innovation made a great impact on Toda consciousness and is still spoken of and referred to in any songs about kum:ʤaɻf or the children of this union. The example was followed in kum:ʤaɻf's lifetime by several men, but all these unions have been dissolved by death, and since kum:ʤaɻf's death no fresh example has been allowed by the chief men of the tribe. The innovation, which if continued would probably

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have had far-reaching social consequences,[1] has been stamped out, and almost the only trace remains in the persons of kum:ɨ-jaɨf's children by this union, who are still spoken of as his children though legally they belong to the other moiety. kum:ɨjaɨf, who was a man of great force and influence, was able to go against the long-established custom of the tribe, but as soon as his influence was removed, conservatism prevailed.

One Toda interest of high rating is the catching of buffaloes at funerals. The men who are to catch the buffaloes line up at a spot which is fixed for each funeral-place and at a given signal all drop their garments and sprint for the swamp where the buffaloes have been stationed. Great honor attaches to the man who wins in this race and reaches the buffaloes first, and honor also goes to those who handle the buffaloes most skilfully when they are caught and being brought to the spot where they are to be killed. Women are inclined to grant sexual favors more often and more readily to young men who are known for their prowess in this matter. Even old men who can no longer compete with the young ones in running demand an opportunity to catch buffaloes. Arrangements are usually made to give them their chance. Certain buffaloes are assigned to certain old men, who then take their seats near these buffaloes and catch them while the young men are running for and catching the others. Quarrels frequently arise on this account, since the young men grudge the

[1] While it is futile to speculate on what might have been, yet it is interesting to trace in a mechanical manner the primary results if this innovation had been carried through so that it became the only allowable type of marriage, no other change taking place and all the present rules of paternity and of residence remaining in force. Organisation would have been as follows. The tribe would consist of two exogamous moieties. A man would be legally the son, not of his mother's husband, but of her male cross-cousin within her own moiety, since at present cross-cousin marriage is the preferred type for a woman's first marriage. Since a woman of the tɔuɨlj moiety may not live at, or even enter, a village of the tɔ:rθaɨ moiety and no woman has any ceremonial function in connexion with the buffaloes and the dairy cult, the present villages of the tɔ:rθaɨ moiety would be abandoned as dwelling places but would be ceremonially and economically important as the places where the dairy operations and rituals of certain herds were carried on. Ownership in these herds as well as in the herds of the most sacred grade of dairies, the ti:- dairies, which now belong to the tɔ:rθaɨ moiety, would descend to a man of this moiety from his mother's male cross-cousin within her moiety. All of which is complicated, but not impossible.

12; Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

dancing will add somewhat to the treatment. Dancing takes place at weddings[16] and at such religious ceremonies as the giving of salt to the buffaloes (up-otjt), the rethatching of a dairy (poḷj-ful-fæ:ɪt), and the prayer-ceremony at a chief mund[17] (mod-fœrtjt), as well as at such unusual social occasions as the reception of an important European visitor, the celebration under the patronage of the Governor of Madras by all the inhabitants of the Nilgiris of a Jubilee in the British royal family, large Badaga ceremonies which many Todas attend, etc. At such dances men from both moieties participate in the same dance. Men who may not dance are those who are mourning a death. (a) If the first funeral has not yet taken place, dancing is prohibited to those who are mourning the death of a man of the same patrilineal sib, of the same matrilineal sib, or of one who is called pojoṭḷ, i.e., wife's father or brother, wife's father's brother, and conversely, daughter's husband, sister's husband, brother's daughter's husband (cf. p. 169). If the dead person is a woman, the prohibition affects, besides members of her matrilineal sib and her pojoṭḷ, only those members of her father's patrilineal sib who belong to her immediate family. (b) If the first funeral has taken place, but mourning still obtains until the second funeral shall have been performed, no one may dance who is related to the dead person by relationship within the matrilineal sib, by the closest relationship within the patrilineal sib, i.e. by membership in the immediate family of the dead person, or by pojoṭḷ relationship as in (a). In both (a) and (b), when a man is dead, dancing is prohibited for the husband and sons of the woman in the opposite moiety with whom he has had sexual relations of the "lover-mistress" type;[18] when a woman is dead, dancing is prohibited for the man in the opposite moiety with whom she has had "lover-mistress" relations, and for his sons.

Dancing also takes place at funerals, whether first or second. Normally only men are allowed to dance who belong to the other moiety than the one to which the dead person belonged. Here again the prohibitions indicated in the preceding paragraph hold with regard to people in the "lover-mistress" relationship to the dead person. And, of course, no person may dance who is mourning any other death. The rule permitting only men of the opposite moiety to dance is sometimes broken. At the funeral of some relatively unimportant person there may not be enough men of the opposite moiety present to dance, or at the funeral of a member of the unkitj, nirj, and purṛjoɪr sibs of the tɔrɔ̈s moiety, since the munds of these sibs are far from any munds of the tɔ̈ɔ̈ṭḷj moiety. In this case members of the same moiety as the dead person will be permitted to dance, but no one who is mourning the dead

[16] There is no dancing at the ceremony when a man gives the toy bow and arrow to his wife during her pregnancy to legitimize the child (pəɪ-ɑɪt). At a ceremony of this kind which I attended with Mr C. P. Skrine, Agent of the Madras States and author of *Chinese Central Asia* (London, 1926), the men danced so that he should be able to say how it is done. The words composed during the dance were about myself and the ceremony was mentioned only as one in a list of ceremonies that I had seen.

[17] A mund (Toda word mod) is, throughout this paper, a dairy institution plus a dwelling place. The significance of "chief mund" (ɪɪs-ʧwɛḷ-mod) as opposed to other munds (pəɪɪ-mod) has been explained in my paper Toda Culture Thirty-five Years After (Annals, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. 19, pp. 101-11, 1938), pp. 113-15.

[18] See reference in note 9 above.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

person because of relationship in the same matrilineal sib, in the same patrilineal sib, or by pojoṭ/ relationship may be permitted to dance.[19] Or, it may happen that, although there are enough members of the proper moiety to dance, there is no one present of the proper moiety who knows how to compose dance-words.[20] In this case if a composer of the moiety of the dead person is present, he may be permitted to dance and compose words. It may happen that all the composers of both moieties will be prevented from dancing by the mourning rules; in this case one of them will be allowed to dance and compose words.

It will be seen from the manner in which the rules are relaxed between situations (a) and (b) for a man, and within the situation (a) as between a man and a woman, that no one may ever dance who is related by co-membership in the same matrilineal sib to any dead person, either of whose funerals is outstanding. In both cases however when the rules are relaxed, i.e. when a man's second funeral only is outstanding and when a woman's first or second funeral is outstanding, the only co-members of the patrilineal sib who are forbidden to dance are those within the immediate family. We may conclude from these rules and from the universally overriding force of relationship within the same matrilineal sib in the application of kinship terms, that in these social spheres the matrilineal sib has greater importance than the patrilineal.[21] Rivers' description has of course made clear the overwhelming importance of the patrilineal sibs in the economic, religious, and social spheres. A man belongs to the patrilineal sib of his father and inherits his property and all his ownership rights and duties in the sacred herds of buffaloes, the dairies at which they are tended, the pastures, etc. This is the pivot of Toda life and in it the matrilineal sibs do not figure at all. In the matter of marriage patrilineal and matrilineal sibs are of equal value; no Toda may marry a person belonging to his own sib of either type. In the matters treated in this paper, however, though both types of sib play a part, the matrilineal sib relationship has greater weight than the other.

A hint of the attitude of a Toda towards the members of his matrilineal sib is provided by the words of the songs. The attitude is identified by the work noṛkj which was translated as "shame," and refers to the sensation of shrinking felt when one is confronted with an embarrasing situation. We shall first examine a prose account of the expedition of kaɲiṛr (Kaṇir, 3) to the points of interest on the path over the hills followed by the dead on their way to the afterworld. His daughter ɑrliɪ had married piḷkor (Pilkòdr, 16) of the mörr patrilineal sib, whose mund pan is very near the point where the path starts southwestward into the Kundah hills. She assured her father of the interest that such an expedition would have and he with several companions made it successfully. One of the points is

[19] A person who cannot dance on any occasion because of mourning is called kön(ṭ)-kostpoj "person who is waiting for a funeral." [20] See reference in note 12 above.

[21] Another place where relationship in the matrilineal sib counts is in the salutations performed at various ceremonies, as e.g., at the puṣ-uṛṭ or bow-giving ceremony. There the wife salutes all the male and female members of her father's patrilineal sib and her own matrilineal sib, and those of her husband's patrilineal sib who are older than herself. Likewise the husband salutes all the male and female members of his patrilineal sib, his matrilineal sib, and his wife's patrilineal sib without respect to relative ages. So correct Rivers, p. 320.

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economy is not a poor one, and the standard of living of the tribe is quite definitely higher than that of the average plainsman.

The dairyman with the Todas is the priest, and his processing of the milk produced by the sacred animals into butter and buttermilk is looked upon as a religious act. Ths takes place in specially constructed buildings which are dairies and temples at the same time. They are known by the generic term of *polkhthli*, and their degree of sanctity varies proportionally to the type of buffalo which they serve. Thus the highest dairy-temples are called *ti* (where *tiir* are cared for), the lowest *tarvali* (which is the *mad*'s, serving ordinary buffaloes or *putir*), and there are such intermediate ones as *wursuli* (for the *wursulir*), *kurpali* (for the *nodrovair*) and *kugvali* (for the *kugvalir*).

To each of these herds of buffaloes and to their corresponding dairy-temple, there is a priest-dairyman, who alone is allowed to milk the animals and process their milk in accordance with an ancient ritual, which consists mainly in the recital of stereotyped formulae, called *kwarshm*. The *ti* and *tiir* are served by a *palol*, who is highest ranking priest of the tribe, assisted by a *kaltmokh*; the *tarvali* or village dairy-temple is in charge of a *tarvalikartmokh*, while the *wursuli*, *kurpali* and *kugvali* have respectively a *wursol*, a *kurpalikartmokh* and a *kugvalikartmokh*. These priests are subjected to very strict rules of behaviour and ritual purity, and are recognizable at once by the black cloak of office which they wear, the *tuni*. The *palol* at the *ti* alone has to milk the very holy *tiir*, completely naked, except for a diminutive perineal band, the *kuvn* – no mean feat during the winter, in the cold and rarefied atmosphere at nearly 8,000 feet.

The Toda tribe, very homogeneous, consisting only of men and women of that name, is divided into two patrilineal, respectively endogamous moieties, that of the Tardharsh and that of the Teivilkh. I am purposely spelling these names at variance with the orthography of W. H. R. Rivers, because it appears to me closer this way to the manner in which the Todas pronounce them. Other words in this chapter which do not conform to the fashion in which the author of *The Todas* writes them are purposely spelt differently so as to be in keeping with what seemed to me a more faithful phonetic rendering of Toda speech.

The tribe considers the Tardharsh moiety as superior to the Teivilkh, and gives higher social status to the members of the former; in what follows, there will be numerous examples of this discrimination, which is continually encountered by anyone having anything to do with the

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Todas. Of the two divisions, it is the inferior one, that of the Teivilkh, which is the smallest. Rivers looked upon it as made up of later arrivals in the Nilgiris who were relegated to a subordinate position by the dominant Tardharsh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 691).

Priests of the high dairy temples, who, appointed to special offices which are not given to the ordinary *mad* dwellers, and in which they take it in turns to serve the village *tarvali*, are always chosen exclusively from the Teivilkh moiety. As an explanation of this apparent paradox, I was told that, despite the high ritual position which, for example, a *palol* occupies, he enjoys no superior social status, and is even looked upon generally as a servant of the tribe, fulfilling a necessary but definitely unenviable, strenuous and lonely occupation.

Within each moiety, there are patrilineal clans (or patrilineages) called *modol* (from *mad*, "village", and *olkh*, "man") and matrilineal descent groups (or matrilineages) which are known by the name of *polkhliol* (from *polkhthli*, "dairy-temple" and *olkh*, "man"). The Todas observe dual descent, and are very strict about it, especially in what concerns the exogamous rules which apply to each of these groups. They are particularly careful not to marry into the *polkhliol*, and will go to great lengths to avoid doing so, in order to remain on the safe side of this interdiction.

The span of both paternal clans and maternal descent groups varies considerably and readers are referred to Rivers book *The Todas* for an account of the *modol* (see p. 643 and following), and to my own publication *The Mothersibs of the Todas of the Nilgiris* (see Bibliography) for the *polkhliol*.

There are thirteen patrilineal clans and five matrilineal descent groups among the Tardharsh. Their names are as follows, classified according to the importance which the tribe gives to each of them:

modols	*polkhliols*
1. Karsh	1. Pirsh or Nör
2. Norsh	2. Kwoten-Pöldh
3. Tarar	3. Öntö
4. Mörorl or Pan	4. Kon
5. Kiaror	5. Püth
6. Nirkh	
7. Konnorj	
8. Unkiti	
9. Kwordhoni	

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modols

10. Melgarsh
11. Pam or Pirspurs
12. Kidmad
13. Melgarsh outcastes sometimes also known as Karsh

The Teivilkh, the moiety of lower social status, has seven paternal clans and also five maternal ones, bearing the following names, which I give here too in order of what Todas consider greater importance:

modols	*polkhliols*
1. Kuur	1. Nonkothkparl
2. Omgarsh or Kusharf	2. Peffwitkoli
3. Pietarl	3. Putkoiven
4. Kiötar	4. Migmoktueratvoi
5. Kulkhem	5. Arakködjittudyurillovoy (Strictly speaking these are nicknames and not actual names, the latter not being known any longer).
6. Kiemen	
7. Kwadenor (who are Kuur outcastes)	

Elders of the tribe know the genealogies of each individual many generations back (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 461 and following). This is essential in order to avoid prohibited marriages, and, because the Todas are illiterate, the knowledge is memorized and expounded orally, as is the case among other peoples in this condition.

Political organization within the tribe is rudimentary. Each *modol* has a headman who is usually the eldest of the lineage. The Toda tribe as a whole, including both moieties, has a chief, the headman of the leading Karsh clan of the Tardharsh, known as the *Tuni-nganipotvayiar*, whose temporal powers are very limited, but whose religious ones are slightly more considerable (for a fuller account of these, see *The Todas: Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. Rivers's Book, as Observed in the Field*, by the same author, see Bibliography). The Toda god, Ön, is believed to have been the first holder of this office, and the present members of the Karsh *modol* are supposed to descend directly from this deity through Ponetan, his son, and Karsh and Konarl, his grandson and great-grandson.

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child, and salutes it in the characteristic Toda fashion, which consists of putting his head under each of the little boy's feet.

Naming sometimes also takes place at the *tersamtpimi*, but because this ceremony can only be held on the day after the second funeral (*marvainolker*) of a Tardharsh man, it is usual now to give a boy his name at the *per vasthpimi*. For the other occasion he has to wait approximately three years, and then when such a funeral has taken place, his *mun* will come to the village where he is living the day afterwards with a piece of wood of the wild rose. He will split the stick into two pieces, and grasping a lock of the boy's hair will cut it off with a piece of sharpened iron if he is a Tardharsh, and with an ordinary knife if he be a Teivilkh. The child will be given its name now by the maternal uncle if this has not already been done earlier at the face-uncovering, and it will be promised a calf.

The hair of little girls is also cut as in the *per vasthpimi* ceremony, but it is done privately without any fuss, by the child's mother. The *tersamptpimi* ritual of cutting a lock is held exclusively for boys and never for girls. Its main provision seems to be the taking of a lock of hair by the *mun*, giving a name being purely incidental, and actually hardly ever done nowadays. At approximately the age of ten, the hair of boys is allowed to grow again, and that of girls is curled and dressed in the traditional manner.

Toda men have to have their ears pierced, regardless of whether they wear rings in the holes or not. In the case of Teivilkhs, they cannot be priests unless this has been done, and in that of the Tardharsh, they cannot officiate as *tarvalikartmokh* before it has taken place. The operation is performed at any time before the subject is twenty years old, or sometimes at this age, and is the occasion of much feasting. Usually a number of young boys are taken all together, as a means of avoiding the great expense involved each time.

The piercing is done either on a Wednesday or on a Saturday, and only when no one is in a period of impurity following upon a death in a family (*ker*). Each boy is attended by his maternal uncle and by a man belonging to the moiety other than that of which he himself is a member. The *mun* pierces one of the ears, while the Tardharsh or the Teivilkh as the case may be, does the other. The instrument used is a piece of a gold ring sharpened to a needle-point. When all is finished, the boys bow down low to the attending crowd, and everyone is given food to eat by the families of those who were operated upon. Women, although they sometimes wear ear-rings, never have their

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sacred rivers in general, nor climb holy hillocks upon which gods are supposed to live. They are not entitled to practise sorcery (I never came across a case of them doing so), to eat parts of the sacrificed calf of the *erkumpthpimi* ceremony (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 274), to approach the spot where buffaloes are killed at funerals (for fear that they should see the bell of the temple upon which they are not allowed to set eyes), to attend the ceremony of offering a buffalo calf to a *ti-mad* called *irnörtit* (op. cit. p. 293); Teivilkh women are, besides, not permitted ever to visit the *mads* of the Tardharsh division.

The inferior status of women is further emphasized by sexual privileges connected with the office of the Teivilkh priests. Thus, the *tarvalikartmokh* has unrestricted access whenever he wishes to all women of the *mad* at which he is serving, even though these may be Tardharsh, that is, whom, normally, as members of the lower moiety, he may not approach. The *kurpalikartmokh* can sleep with the Tardharsh women of his choice, but only on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. The *wursol* may do the same on Sundays and Wednesdays only, and may not have any relations during the time that he is priest with any Teivilkh women, not even his wife if he is married. The *palol* of the *ti* may cohabit with the Tardharsh woman that he wants (from any *mad*) outside the precincts of the *ti-mad*, but within the sanctified territory, that is, in practice, in the *sholas* only (Rivers denies this, but I have confirmed it in *The Todas, Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. River's Book, Observed in the Field*, see Bibliography).

Todas prefer men to women to such a degree that female infanticide was, and is still to some extent, practised in the tribe, something to which we shall have occasion to revert further on. Toda society is a patriarchal one, in which the men are dominant and in which they treat their women, as most polyandrous people do, as their property. This belies the deceptive appearance of freedom which the females give on first acquaintance, an appearance which one very soon learns to appreciate at its true value when one gets to know the tribe better.

After adult marriage the bride always takes up her residence with her husband or husbands as the case may be, no known case of uxorilocal dwelling having ever taken place. She becomes a member of his or their *modol*, giving the latter a territorial appearance. At the same time she ceases to belong to her maiden one, but continues nevertheless to be part of her own *polkhliol*. Inheritance is always exclusively through the male line, the father's or fathers' brothers, the next of kin

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428 614 on the men's side of the *polm* (a subdivision of the clan in which members are grouped for certain economic duties incumbent upon them, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 544) succeeding to the property of those men who die without male issue. There is never any adoption 597 of children and the custom is unknown.

614 The two moieties of the Todas are endogamous, Tardharsh marrying only Tardharsh and Teivilkh only Teivilkh. But inside each of these 616 sections, the paternal clans and matrilineal descent groups are strictly 837 exogamous. Extra-marital relations within these, when they occur – 582 which they undoubtedly do – practically exclusively take place between members of the paternal clans and never, it can safely be said, within the polkhliol. They are always considered incestuous. Avoidance of 835 this kind is pushed so far, at least in public, that when, for instance, I 123 once took Peidz of Karsh (44) for a ride in my car with one of the sons of Tilipa of Karsh (12), he refused to sit on the seat at the back with her but insisted on being next to me, because, he said, she was his classificatory grandmother.

582 Child-marriage is regularly practised, little Toda boys and girls 584 being betrothed before they are three years old, preferably to their *matchuni* or cross-cousin, that is, the son or daughter of their father's sister or of their mother's brother. If no *matchuni* properly speaking is available, some other child, classified as such by extension of the term in accordance with Toda kinship usages, is generally chosen, the rules of endogamy and exogamy being, of course, observed.

581 As is usual in India, the object of these child-marriages seems to be 584 mainly religious. It is considered that no one can properly accomplish his or her duties to the gods unless he or she is married. Death, 775 especially for someone single, would be a calamity, as he or she would not be able to enter Amnor and would wander aimlessly about as a 588 ghost. That is why, when a Toda child dies before being married, however young (even only a few days), its body has first to be wedded 766 to somebody appropriate before the funeral ceremony can be proceeded with.

595 The Todas are known to be polyandrous, and the custom is wide-178 spread and still very vigorous within the tribe. But they are not only that, being also polygynous, sometimes forming conjoint-marriages, and monogamous. I found them practising all these forms of marriage as widely as in the days of Rivers, although the latter did make the arresting remark that monogamy with them might well develop out of polyandry combined with polygyny, each of the men in such a species

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which can often last for nearly an hour. The relatives now depart and return to the village, leaving the man and woman to cook themselves a meal. They return later, however, and all spend the night together in the *shola*, before going back to the *mad* in the morning, when a feast, open to visitors as well, is held.

Performance of the *pursütpimi* ceremony determines once and for all the fatherhood of all children borne by a woman. It need not be repeated as long as it is desired that the same man should continue to be the father of other children brought into the world by the woman. Thus, dead men can well be considered the parent of later offspring, and will continue to be looked upon as such, unless a new *pursütpimi* ceremony with another man be performed.

In most cases it is the husband who is called upon to give the bow and arrow; in the case of a plurality of husbands, one of them, not necessarily the eldest, will do so, and it is not customary to repeat it with another one of the husbands when once done by one of them. That is why men who have failed for one reason or another to procreate children, will preferably carry off the pregnant wives of others, so that when they go through with the ceremony, they will, all the same, become fathers. This was the case with the famous Toda Kuriolv (22) who, having become impotent from a wound received from a buffalo which he caught in his youth at a Toda funeral, was, nevertheless, able to have legal heirs even if they were not his own physiological sons. In cases of pregnancy having been brought about by intermoiety concubinage, a man of the same division as the woman is obliged to give the bow and arrow when she reaches her seventh month, should no one have done this for her before. The child would otherwise be illegitimate, something unheard of with the Todas.

In accordance with this system of legally determining paternity, the legitimacy of the children is assured, as no case is known in which a man could not be found to perform the *pursütpimi* ceremony for a pregnant woman. Even in instances of premarital impregnation, the girl having been "married" at an early stage to her *mutchuni*, even if the latter is not available for some reason to give her the bow and arrow, some other suitable male partner will always be found for her.

When a woman is carried away from her husband or husbands to become the wife of another man or group of men, and is subsequently compensated for by a fixed amount of buffaloes, the proceedings are not considered by the Todas to be those of a divorce. With them, that is something quite different, with a decidedly disparaging connotation

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586 Rivers says that a man may divorce his wife for only two reasons, namely, either that she is a fool or that she will not work. He adds, however, that illness of the husband has also sometimes been regarded as a ground for divorce (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 525).

But from my field-work in the Nilgiris, I gathered that the only real reason for a man wanting to be legally separated from his wife, was that she had co-habited with a non-Toda. He would then take one of his male buffaloes, tie a coconut shell round its neck in the presence of the *noim* which he had called together for that purpose. He would next cut off his wife's hair, beat her publicly, and end up by driving her together with the buffalo back to the house of his parents-in-law. I never actually saw this happen, but was assured on good authority (Kanvarsathi, Ujar (48), Sriar (20), Öknarsh (8) and Piliar (52)) that this was how it was done.

881 616 Before Toda girls reach the age of puberty, before their first menses, two things have to take place. First the ceremony called *putkuli tazar utiti* ("cloak over he puts") is performed. In it, a man of the opposite moiety to that of the girl (Teivilkh if she be Tardharsh, and vice-versa), comes to the *mad* at which she lives, during the day, lies down beside her on the *ertülkh* of her *arsh* for a few minutes and puts his *putkuli* over both her and himself.

881 616 833 604 124 A fortnight later, if a Tardharsh, she will have to be deflowered by a Teivilkh, and if a member of the latter, inferior, moiety, by somebody from the opposite one (Rivers has "a man of strong physique", which is not accurate enough, see *The Todas*, p. 503). It is looked upon as a great shame for a girl to start menstruating before this has been done, which reminds me of what Duarte Barbosa says about Nayar virgins (see above, p. 170). I was naturally most intrigued by this belief, and, as Rivers alludes only in passing to the custom and does not offer any explanation, I decided to try and find out for myself what the reason for it could possibly be.

Naturally this was no easy task, as people were too shy to speak about it, but I pressed Ujar (48) to speak for over a month, considering him to be the man, because of his age, standing and disposition towards me, the most liable to talk. I gave him presents such as a bag of rice, a buffalo calf and spectacles, but still he was reticent, and I could see that, although he wanted to confide the secret to me in return, he was afraid to do so. Finally I elucidated from him that his apprehension came from the fact that he feared that should he speak in the Nilgiris, the gods would wreak punishment upon him. I decided,

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therefore, to take him right away, and on the 3rd of August, 1939, drove him down to the plains, near Mettupalaiyam, in order to question him far away from his hills.

I stopped at the side of the road when we had reached level ground, and, through Kanvarsathi – who was, incidentally, as curious as I to find out – requested him, now that we were out of *Terkish nor* (the land of Terkish), to speak. His answer was well worth the trouble I had taken, for he immediately replied, quite unexpectedly I must say, that unless this is done, "the maternal uncle of the girl will die".

I immediately pressed him for more. Why was it so, I asked, and how could such a thing have anything to do with the safety of the *mun*? He did not know, he said, it was just like that, and people had, of course, to guard themselves against this danger. To my next question as to what the maternal uncle could do to save himself if by any chance defloration had not taken place in this traditional way, he replied that he would still be safe if he could get hold of the girl and shave all her hair off. [302]

This talk with Ujar (48) later led me to a number of psychoanalytical speculations in an attempt to make sense out of what he told me, and in the course of lectures on the subject to various specialized bodies, interesting discussions on this point have taken place. I shall give an account of these in the publication which I am planning for later, on the psychological findings of my research (see Introduction, p. 15). [114]

Although the rules of endogamy within the two moieties of the Toda tribe, the Tardharsh and the Teivilkh, are very strictly observed, a regular system of concubinage and cicisbeism exists between them, organized as though to get round the difficulty. This is known as the *mokhthoditi* institution and it is an established feature of Toda social organization. 616 837 [595]

The origin of the custom, which is not restricted to inter-moiety cicisbeism and concubinage in practice, although it is so in principle, is said to be mythological. The god Kulinkarsh was the lover of the goddess Notirsh, without being married to her. The partners of the *mokhthoditi* are known respectively, the man as *mokhthodvaiol* ("the man who keeps the child"), and the woman as *sedvaitazmokh* ("the woman who joins the child"). It would probably be more correct to put these in the plural, since nothing theoretically really limits the number of persons to be joined in this way. In fact, however, the relation appears always to be between single individuals only. [773]

There are two different ways in which the liaison is carried on.

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Either the couple live together in the same *mad*, quite openly, or the man visits the woman periodically at the house of her husband or husbands. In the case of a Tardharsh being *mokhthodvaiol* to a Teivilkh woman, because of the prohibition for those of her kind to visit the *mads* of the superior moiety, it always has to be her lover who visits her at her home. There is no objection on the part of the husbands as, in accordance with the formalities necessary to establish a *mokhthoditi* relation, they will have been consulted in advance and will have given their consent to the arrangement.

The usual way for a man to go about getting himself a *sedvaitazmokh* is, after having found the lady of his choice, to approach her husband or husbands, if she has any, or her father or fathers if she has none, and to obtain their consent to what he plans. He will agree to give the men a present (such as a piece of cloth or a *putkuli*) in exchange, whereupon, if the other party is in accordance, he becomes the woman's *mokhthodvaiol* without any further formality. (Rivers has it that a third party may be called in to seal the pact, (see *The Todas*, p. 527) but none of my informants said this was done nowadays.)

Some time later, he will make collective obeisance to the lady's *pailol*, that is, her male relations (fathers and brothers). This is as in a Toda marriage, there being no difference at all here between regular and irregular unions. On this occasion the man will promise to give the woman some pieces of jewellery, and her son, should she have one, a buffalo calf. It is after these promises have been made, that the *mokhthodvaiol* will perform the *kalmelpudithti* salution to the *pailol* and, significantly enough, after this has taken place, he will call his *sedvaitazmokh's* father *mun* as he would his wife's father or his maternal uncle.

While working at Melgarsh *mad*, I had the opportunity to see how such a *mokhthoditi* arrangement functioned. Amoniwuf, the common wife of the two brothers, Singharsh and Singhud, had a regular lover, a Teivilkh from Teir *mad* of the Kusharf *modol*, whose name I unfortunately have not recorded (his picture is shown on pages 56 and 57 of Lidio Cipriani's *I Toda, Archivo per l'Antropologia e la Etnologia*, Vol. LXVII, 1937). Things seemed to go very smoothly, and all three men as well as the woman appeared happy and on the best of terms. The Teivilkh used to come regularly to Melgarsh, at least twice a week in the afternoon, staying until the next morning when he would go home again early. I was told that he had given Amoniwuf a very nice gold necklace, which I was, however, never shown. The husbands

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to note that there "are many more irregular liaisons, not provided by overt institutions, and indeed punishable by fines if discovered". Of course, with a system of child-marriage and of socially determined paternity through the *pursütpimi* ceremony, both of which to a large extent guard against the danger of illegitimate births, the fear of begetting children out of wedlock is much less than in other cultures, and consequently does not act as much as a deterrant here, with the Todas, as it would, I suppose, elsewhere.

In spite of careful questioning and observation, I could find no cases of impotence with men or of frigidity with women. Kuriolv, as recorded earlier (see above, p. 259), was evidently an exception in this regard, but his was a physiological impotence, due to a past accident while catching a buffalo at a funeral, and cannot, therefore, be considered as contradicting these findings.

B. SPECIAL STUDY: MELGARSH

This special study of the Melgarsh mund of the Todas of the Nilgiris has already been published in part in *Drives, Affects, Behaviour*, Edited by Rudolph M. Loewenstein, M.D. at the International Universities Press, Inc., New York, 1953. It is, however, elaborated in what follows with special emphasis on the anthropological description of polyandry within one family unit; observation of the children's behaviour is the subject of an addendum.

1. THE MELGARSH CLAN

The Melgarsh clan belongs to the Tardharsh moiety, but it differs in many ways from the others of its kind. Because of this, it appeared to W. H. R. Rivers as intermediate between Tardharsh and Teivilkh, and he even put the hypothesis forward, denied, however, by the Todas, that originally it may have belonged to the latter half of the tribe.

It is not necessary here to go into all the differences that put Melgarsh at variance with the other Tardharsh clans; readers interested in the subject are referred to Rivers' book. Suffice it to say that the Melgarsh people enjoy special privileges in connection with the dairy-temples – such as supplying *wursols* and *kaltmokhs* (the latter, attendants of the *palol*), taking food and buttermilk in the sacred enclosures of the *timad* – the exclusive right of milking a buffalo to provide milk for a

4: Yalman E-4.5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese AX4
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carefully, because it provides an excellent example of how linguistic marriage categories systematic among themselves can be used in the organization of sexual and marital relations in a community. This has already been amply demonstrated for Ceylon. I shall argue that the Todas are in the same position. To put it quite directly, in these systems marriage and sexual relations are organized by linguistic kinship categories and not by any kind of exogamous lineages. Lineages and unilineal descent are secondary features and may or may not be found in conjunction with cross-cousin marriage rules.

In the remainder of this chapter I shall be concerned with an examination of the structural model constructed on the basis of Ceylonese evidence in certain South Indian contexts. I intend to demonstrate, first, that the same general structure applies in a large number of documented cases in South India irrespective of the patrilineal or matrilineal descent rules. Second, I shall attempt to demonstrate that special developments of unilineal descent have the same effect as in Ceylon—that is, they lead into hypergamy. In the limiting case, each unilineage turns into a ritual status group. Since the material, though abundant, is extremely uneven and at first sight quite confusing, I hope to further our understanding of these interesting structures. Let us now consider the Toda evidence.

THE TODAS

The Todas, though one of the classic tribes of anthropology, have been neglected in recent years. They inhabit the Nilgiri Hills, and from the first arrival of the Portuguese in the East Indies have excited curiosity and speculation. They inhabit a region populated by the Badaga (Cultivators), Kota (Funeral Musicians), and Kurumba (Sorcerers?). The largest section of the population is Badaga. The Toda numbered only 800 individuals at the time of Rivers' field work.

Rivers suggested that they were divided into two moieties; they could also be said to have two ritual groups: the Toda proper (*to:rdas*, see Emeneau) and the section of their priest, the *deva* (god) people (pronounced as *tevaliol*).[2]

They are pastoralists, and buffalo milk, apart from being very sacred, is one of the mainstays of their diet. All their lives and important institutions revolve around the buffalo. In their emergence myths, they come out of a hole in the ground holding onto buffalo tails! The Todas are created with their buffaloes, and the buffaloes, like

[2] See also D. Mandelbaum (1938). Mandelbaum describes how among the Kotas the priests do not belong to a separate division but are treated in such a way as to be cut off from the rest of Kota society. The Todas appear to have carried the distinction one step further.